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New Factors in American Japanese Relations and A Constructive Proposal

SIDNEY L. GULICK

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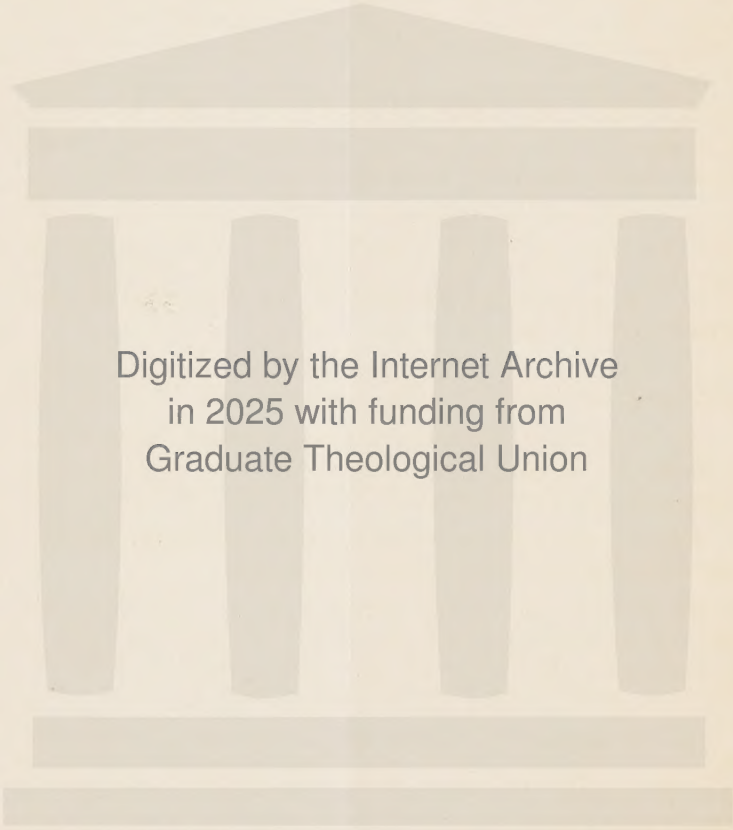
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FOREWORD

The discussion of the Japanese question in the following pages should have the careful consideration of patriotic American citizens, for permanent mutual understanding and goodwill between America and Japan are essential to the well-being of both nations during the decades and centuries ahead. We are near neighbors and must learn to live together as friendly and helpful neighbors.

The figures of Japanese immigration presented dispell the fog due to the highly misleading statistics so widely disseminated by anti-Japanese agitators and the yellow press. Especially to be noted are the following facts:

1) Between the summers of 1908 and 1923, 97,877 alien Japanese males entered the United States (including Hawaii). But 120,614 departed, making a net diminution of 22,737. **Japanese male laborers in the United States are steadily decreasing.**

2) During the same years 73,707 females entered while 34,874 departed, making a net increase of 38,833.

3) The net increase of Japanese through immigration is, therefore, 16,096 in fifteen years. Of these 8,681 came to Continental United States and 7,415 to Hawaii, Alaska, etc.

The Japanese Government evidently has been faithfully administering the Gentlemen's Agreement.

In view of the entire situation, it is clear, however, that the Gentlemen's Agreement has reached the limit of its usefulness and that some new arrangement is desirable. The chief points urged by the author are:

1) It would be an act of international immorality (though technically legal) for Congress to forbid by law all immigration from Japan, for it would annul both the Gentlemen's Agreement and the present treaty with Japan. It would be an ungentlemanly and un-Christian procedure.

2) A new Gentlemen's Agreement might be arranged with Japan to adjust existing points of difficulty.

3) But the preferable course is to make a new treaty. It should provide for:

A) Complete mutual stoppage of immigration of all manual, agricultural and other laborers—skilled or unskilled—and their families into either country, except by special arrangement in individual cases.

B) Mutual agreement to give most favored nation treatment to all persons of either nationality residing under the jurisdiction of the other.

C) Reciprocal granting of privileges of naturalization and citizenship to individuals personally qualified.

D) Abrogation by the Japanese Government of her laws creating dual citizenship of Japanese children born in the United States.

The full development of these proposals and the reasons for them will be found in the following pages. The author has had exceptional opportunities to know the facts and especially to sense the state of public opinion in both countries. The importance of preserving amicable relations with Japan was emphasized by the American Government at the time of the Naval Limitation Conference in Washington. But the immigration question presents a more constant source of irritation between the two countries than any other. In the interest of the future peace of the world it should be removed from the domain of local partisan politics.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, *Chairman*
National Committee on American-Japanese Relations

New Factors in American Japanese Relations and a Constructive Proposal

Two new factors have recently entered into American Japanese relations. These factors are: first, the great earthquake and fire in Japan[1], followed at once by the relief measures in America; and second, the recent decisions by the United States Supreme Court declaring constitutional the anti-Japanese legislation on the Pacific Coast. Either one alone would have made the situation either distinctly better or distinctly worse. Both together create a highly perplexing confusion.

Since 1906 anti-Japanese agitation in our Western States has been steadily developing. It has secured the enactment of several discriminatory and repressive laws humiliating to Asiatics. These, with our naval power, our increasing commercial relations in the Far East and our territorial expansions across the Pacific have given opportunity for Japanese jingoes and agitators to tell their people of our race prejudice and our national ambitions.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, however, convinced them that America has no militaristic ambitions in the Far East, while the gifts for earthquake and fire sufferers (which exceeded $12,000,000) convinced them that America has a depth of sympathy and goodwill for Japan far beyond anything they had thought possible.

But right in the midst of their feelings and expressions of gratitude and goodwill toward America came like a thunderbolt the decisions of the United States Supreme Court validating the humiliating, discriminatory and repressive legislation of California, Washington and other Western States.

The Japanese people are both deeply grateful and deeply grieved. They appreciate America's helpfulness and goodwill, but they resent her humiliating legislation as unjust

1. The significance of Japan's appalling experience in the earthquake and fire has been studied in the writer's recent volume THE WINNING OF THE FAR EAST and will not be further considered in the present discussion.

and contrary to America's own declared principles of democracy, liberty, and Christianity. That legislation appears to them wholly needless, a wanton affront—because now for fifteen years the faithful administration of the Gentlemen's Agreement has effectively stopped labor immigration from Japan to America.

From the standpoint of one who has earnestly and long sought the real facts and the full truth regarding this perplexing problem of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, it is evident that neither side quite appreciates the viewpoint of the other; what one side deeply resents the other side scarcely sees at all. Each side emphasizes as facts, absolutely true and indisputable, what the other side either ignores or denies.

It is high time that both America and Japan should review the whole matter and find some new way of dealing with the difficulty. For there is a difficulty and it should be dealt with. Unless it is handled wisely and speedily, new developments can hardly fail to complicate still further American-Japanese relations, with ultimate misfortune to both countries and to the world.

I am convinced that a solution can be found if both sides will look at all the facts steadily and frankly and in the spirit of goodwill. The present time is particularly appropriate for such a study and for a determined effort to solve the difficulty. Many of the mutual suspicions that in the past have hampered a frank and friendly approach to the question have been removed by the Washington Conference and by American generosity to Japanese sufferers from the earthquake and fire. Moreover, the full significance of the anti-Japanese legislation of the Pacific Coast has become clear. Its implications also for the future of American relations with the Far East begin to appear. The urgency is pressing and the psychological conditions are favorable.

Recent Studies of the American Japanese Problem

The American Japanese problem is receiving increased attention from thoughtful students of our international and inter-racial problems. At the outset of the present discussion the most important studies that have come to my attention may well be briefly described.

Professor R. L. Buell of Harvard has approached the Japanese question from the legal standpoint. His learned articles in the December (1922) issue of the "Political Science Quarterly", in the January (1923) issue of the "American Journal of International Law" and in the December (1923) issue of "Foreign Affairs", provide a wealth of accurate information in the shortest possible space. He concludes that only a treaty completely stopping Japanese immigration and also giving privileges of naturalization to Japanese now lawfully here can meet the requirements of the situation.

Professor Tasuku Harada of the University of Hawaii issued in the fall of 1922 a pamphlet (94 pp.) containing replies to a questionnaire from over a hundred representative Americans. Probably no more comprehensive statement of thoughtful American opinion has ever been gathered. All varieties of thought are represented.

Dr. Harry H. Laughlin of the Eugenics Record Office of the Carnegie Institute of Washington presented in January (1923) to the House Committee on Immigration a study of delinquents, defectives and dependents in the institutions of the United States, classifying them by race. The diagrams render his researches immediately intelligible and impressive. The significant item for this paper is the evidence that, in percentage of racial representation in these institutions, the Japanese stand next to the Swiss at the bottom of the list.

Professor M. L. Darsie of Stanford University carried on in 1922 under the direction of Professor M. L. Terman a study of the mental capacity (I.Q.) of Japanese children in California. The children tested numbered 568 between the ages of ten and fifteen. Four hundred teachers cooperated. Results are reported in detail. Professor Darsie sums up in the following paragraphs, prefacing them with the remark that the "language handicap probably tends to lower the 'Intelligence Quotient' somewhat:

"1. The Japanese in California are as a group somewhat inferior in intelligence to Northern Europeans, but markedly superior to Southern Europeans.

"2. In application and capacity to learn they are probably superior to native Americans.

"3. In social-moral traits they are fully equal, and in many respects probably superior to the average child of other races in

California, as judged by their teachers, this being true with respect to native American children as well."

Rev. Paul B. Waterhouse while on a furlough visit in California in 1922 secured answers from 2,000 Japanese children in public schools to a questionnaire on their views and purposes. It turned out that two-thirds were attending Protestant Sunday Schools; thirty-five per cent declared themselves to be Protestant and nineteen per cent Buddhist. "Taking them as a whole there was little difference in the answers from what might be expected from children of that age of any other nationality." The spirit of loyalty to America is strikingly outspoken.

Mr. J. Kinoshita has made a scholarly statement in twenty pages of the "Status of Japanese in the United States" who came in without passports before the Gentlemen's Agreement went in operation and who are now regarded by the Japanese Government as being here illegally. They resent this view for it prevents them from securing privileges of return to the United States if they visit their homeland. Mr. Kinoshita argues that, since they have resided here lawfully for over fifteen years, the American Government should grant them certificates of residence readmitting them to the United States even without a passport from the Japanese Government.

The House Committee on Immigration in 1920 held Hearings in California on the Oriental situation. A compendium of the 1490 pages of the published "Hearings" was prepared by the writer and published in 1922. To the sixty-five pages of classified quotations and condensations are added "A Critical Estimate of the Testimony" in twenty pages and "A Constructive Program" in eight pages.

An Oriental Survey is now in progress in California under the charge of Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, from which much is to be expected. The most significant element in the "Survey" is that all groups are working together for the discovery of the actual facts, entirely uncolored by preconceived notions or special interests. Those who have been regarded as radical pros and radical cons have been brought together to participate in a wholly scientific undertaking—" a very important cooperative affair." The results will be awaited with highest interest.

A Sketch of Japanese Immigration

Before 1908 Japanese immigration was negligible. From 1899 to 1908 inclusive, the figures for immigration to the United States (including Hawaii) run as follows: 3,395; 12,628; 5,249; 14,455; 20,041; 14,382; 11,021; 14,243; 30,824; and 16,415. The vast majority were males, and probably about two-thirds came to Continental America, the rest going to Hawaii. In 1908 the Gentlemen's Agreement was arranged to stop further labor immigration from Japan, as demanded by California, without a Japanese exclusion law or other discriminatory measures obnoxious to Japan.

The statistical results of the Gentlemen's Agreement are shown in the following tables. From Table "A" it appears that the total net increase of Japanese in the United States (including Hawaii) as the result of Japanese travel under the Gentlemen's Agreement (summer of 1908-1923) has been 16,096; also that 22,737 more males have departed from the United States than have entered, and on the other hand that 38,833 more females have entered than have departed.

From Table "B" it appears that of the total of 120,317 admitted to Continental America, 50,511 had been in America before; that 111,636 returned to Japan and that in the fifteen years the net increase by immigration was 8,681.

Further analysis of the statistics published by the Commissioner General of Immigration shows that, of the 120,317 admitted to Continental America and the 301 debarred, 30,189 were classed as "laborers" (males, 25,370; females, 4,819) and 90,429 as non-laborers, namely travelers, merchants, students, Government officials, etc. Corresponding figures for the Hawaiian Islands are: laborers, 33,836 (males, 14,086; females, 19,750) and non-laborers, 16,766 (males, 8,767; females, 7,999).

At first Japanese settled in the cities, coming into sharp competition with organized labor. Soon they found their way into the country and were welcomed by American agriculturalists as day laborers, and especially as seasonal workers. This brought them into still sharper competition with American labor. Because, however, of special capacities for certain forms of agricultural activities, they made a place for themselves, especially in truck gardening, which to a con-

siderable degree they monopolized. They soon began to farm on their own account, first leasing land and then a few of them purchasing it. Groups and "colonies" of Japanese were thus formed in certain areas, creating economic and social conditions distasteful to their American neighbors. The establishment of Japanese "Associations", Japanese language schools, Japanese Chambers of Commerce and Japanese economic groups, and agreements for fixing prices and development of monopolies—all carried on in the Japanese language and in growing competition with corresponding groups of Americans—inevitably led to bitterness of feeling on both sides, to more or less of sharp practice, not to say wrong doing, and to the determination of the white competitors to drive out the Japanese.

Anti-Japanese Agitation

In spite of the faithful administration of the Gentlemen's Agreement by the Japanese Government, anti-Japanese agitation thus inevitably developed.

Anti-Japanese leaders have insisted that the Agreement was being violated by Japan; that immigration from Japan was continuing and increasing, as shown by the growing population, by the families developing and by the figures of admissions (no attention being given to departures nor any recognition being made of the fact that nearly a half of the admittances consisted of those who had already been in America); that the Japanese Government had a subtle plan of military invasion for which it was preparing by sending over tens of thousands of trained soldiers disguised as laborers; that the coming of so many "picture brides" was a peculiarly subtle and far-reaching scheme of conquest, by insuring scores of thousands of American-born children of the Japanese race, who decade after decade would be loyal to the Mikado and ready to fight for him whenever the command from Tokyo should arrive; and that the real purpose of Japanese in purchasing land was to forward Japan's national ambitions for the conquest and annexation of the Pacific Coast to the Japanese Empire.

Because of these alleged purposes and characteristics of the Japanese, it was vociferously asserted that they are incapable of becoming loyal American citizens—such as come from other races—and that their assimilation, socially, politically and racially, is impossible.

On the basis of these allegations and considerations, it was insisted that the Gentlemen's Agreement should be abrogated by an act of Congress forbidding Japanese immigration, similar to that which had stopped Chinese immigration. But since Congress would be slow to act, it was declared necessary for the State to take its own immediate measures. Life should be made so intolerable for Japanese that they would voluntarily stop coming and that even those now here would leave.

In harmony with this general plan, agitation and legislation have been carried forward for more than a dozen years. The fact that Japanese, under the current interpretation of our naturalization laws, are ineligible to become citizens by naturalization, was seized upon. California framed its anti-Japanese laws on the basis of aliens ineligible for naturalization. The State of Washington, a little more adroitly, distinguished between aliens who do or do not "declare in good faith their intention to become citizens". Inasmuch as Japanese are not permitted to naturalize they cannot make the required declaration.

Anti-Japanese Legislation

California passed her first anti-Japanese law in 1913, by which she forbade aliens ineligible for citizenship to purchase agricultural land or to lease it for more than three years. Japanese however soon found that they could purchase agricultural land in the names of their American-born children, and a few began to do so. Agitators presented alleged figures of enormous Japanese purchases, and also of extraordinary Japanese birth rate, and stampeded the people of California into the law of 1920. This law forbade all leases and sought to stop the purchase of land in the names of minor children. In 1923 a law was passed forbidding even crop-contracts with aliens ineligible for citizenship. During the years of agitation, many bills have been proposed at each session of the State legislature which have fanned the flames of passion, given opportunity for flagrant misrepresentation of the facts, and developed race prejudice.

The discriminatory laws have been stoutly contested by Japanese, with the cooperation of American lawyers and land owners. Some of the cases in the California State

Courts were decided favorably to the Japanese. But three decisive cases have been carried through to the United States Supreme Courts.

By the Ozawa case it was definitely settled (Nov. 13, 1922) that Japanese are not eligible for citizenship through naturalization; that the term "free white person" in the law of naturalization does not include Japanese but only persons of races commonly called white or Caucasian.

By the Nakatsuka case it was decided (Nov. 12, 1923) that a State may deny to aliens ineligible for citizenship the right to purchase or lease land, even though it permits that right to other aliens.

By the Inouye case it was similarly decided (Nov. 19, 1923) that a State may deny to aliens ineligible for citizenship the right to make crop-contracts while granting that right to other aliens.

It is held by the Supreme Court that in these two latter cases the provision of the Constitution (XIV Amendment) guaranteeing the equal protection of the laws does not apply. It is held that because an alien is debarred from privileges of citizenship by the Federal naturalization law, a State is quite within its rights to debar such alien from buying land, and from making crop-contracts, although it grants those rights to other aliens. It is also held that the treaty with Japan of 1911 does not forbid such laws discriminating between aliens eligible and ineligible for citizenship.

The legislative program of the anti-Asiatic agitators has thus been crowned with success. The effect of their success will doubtless be to give new vigor to the anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast, in the belief that there are no constitutional limits to their program of discriminatory and humiliating legislation. Aliens ineligible for naturalization are acknowledged by the Supreme Court of the United States to constitute a distinct class who may be dangerous to the State in which they reside. They may, therefore, be properly deprived of civil rights, and seriously hampered in their opportunities of "liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Further steps in the legislative program of the anti-Japanese agitators are:

1. Denial to aliens ineligible for citizenship of the rights of guardianship of the real estate belonging to their minor children (passed by the California Legislature and signed by the Governor, May 31, 1923).

2. Denial of the right of equal treatment with other aliens in the University of California (passed and signed by the Governor, June 2, 1923).

3. Withholding of citizenship from persons born in America whose parents are ineligible to citizenship (H. J. Resolution introduced into Congress, Dec. 5, 1923).

4. Absolute prohibition of immigration to all aliens ineligible for citizenship.

5. Denial to American-born children, whose parents have not declared their intentions to become citizens, of the right to hold title to land (passed by the Washington Legislature and signed by the Governor, March 10, 1923).

Many other measures have been proposed. In view of the validation given this type of law by the Supreme Court, it now remains to be seen how much further the State legislatures will desire to go.

Some Consequences of the Anti-Japanese Agitation and Legislation

In consequence of the denunciation of the "picture bride" movement, the Japanese Government, at the request of Japanese in the United States, announced early in 1920 that after September no further passports would be granted to such persons going to California. The diminution, however, in the coming of wives has not corresponded to Californian expectations, partly because agitators held exaggerated ideas regarding the number of "picture brides" who had been coming to America, and partly because of a recent increase of men who have gone to Japan to get wives.

So long as Japanese could lease land or make crop-contracts, anti-Japanese legislation had little immediate effect on the actual cultivation of the land by Japanese. Now that the Supreme Court has rendered its decisions, the legal battle is over and the effects of the legislation begin to appear.

A recent dispatch from California published in the "New York Times" declares that 30,000 Japanese farmers are preparing to abandon their jobs, and that this will leave uncultivated nearly 500,000 acres of land. These figures are doubtless exaggerated, yet they indicate the trend.

Attorney-General Webb is reported to have stated that "the Supreme Court decree authorizes California to evict all Japanese landowners or tenants who are now in the position of occupying soil illegally," and ex-Senator Phelan says: "The Japanese must now take day labor or get out."

The effect on prices of ordinary vegetables and garden produce will be seen the coming summer. Many Japanese will no doubt accept day-labor; but it is generally agreed that American owners cannot profitably cultivate their land on a day-wage basis; Japanese, moreover, like other human beings, are more diligent to get results from the land when they know that they will get the fruits of their skill and industry than when they work on a day-wage basis.

It is freely prophesied that scores of thousands of fertile acres will soon be barren deserts. White men will not work in many sections now productive under Japanese labor. Japanese who have mortgages on land which was bought before 1913, are finding that banks are unwilling to loan them money because of the uncertainty as to what the next State legislature may do. The situation is commonly spoken of by Japanese as a "persecution". They do not understand why they should be thus treated when their personal relations with Americans are quite free from discord. They see well enough that their agricultural products are a real asset for the State. It looks to them like a matter of mere race prejudice.

In order to promote better relations with Americans, Japanese have done many things for the common good. In war-time they volunteered for military service; they bought liberty bonds and war-saving stamps and subscribed liberally to the Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. funds. In the recent drive for earthquake relief funds by the American Red Cross and the Salvation Army, they contributed $100,000, helping to make up the assigned quotas; and in addition they raised ten times that amount, which they sent directly to Japan.

No foreigners in the United States have taken more pains to prove themselves loyal to American interests, despite the fact that they are denied opportunity of naturalization.

Japanese are naturally deeply disappointed and humiliated, for they had confidently counted on the protection of

the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteeing the "equal protection of the laws." An American writer (F. W. Wile), describing the situation, says that "they now find themselves in the ignoble situation of a country against which the Pacific Coast States, under sanction of the highest tribunal in the Republic, place an embargo not imposed against any fifth-rate nation in the world".

When the news reached California that the U. S. Supreme Court had validated the legislation of Pacific Coast States against "aliens ineligible for citizenship", the Japanese Association of America, having headquarters in San Francisco, passed (November 30, 1923) the following declaration and resolution, which evinces an unexpectedly fine spirit:

Statement and Resolution on the Decision of the United States Supreme Court on the Alien Land Law Case.

What we have pledged and expect to act on is to endeavor to live our lives with a full sense of the highest in American civilization. We shall try our best to adjust ourselves to the principles of well-established institutions under the protection of the American Constitution and the laws of this country. We shall endeavor to adapt ourselves to the customs and manners of the American people. We have regarded the great civilization of America with affection and respect. To us this civilization rests upon the firm principles of democracy and equality. We have had great faith in its institutions and its system of government, which protects all with impartiality.

In the past we have enjoyed life to a great extent under the efficient protection of the law. Our lives have been enjoyable under this protection in many ways, even beyond our treaty rights. We are glad and rejoice at being recognized by Americans as a law-abiding people. It would be but natural for us, as residents of this law-governed country, to desire and expect a better opportunity for protection abroad. Because of our faith in the spirit of America we felt deeply that our rights and privileges were severely injured when our very livelihood was endangered by the enactment of the California Alien Land Law. We thought this law was in violation of the Constitution. If we had not looked to America with absolute faith in her spirit we would never have appealed to the Supreme Court for the better protection of our rights. Now, regardless of our expectation and hopes, the United States Supreme Court has denied our petition and has decided that ineligible aliens can not enjoy civil rights beyond mere treaty regulations. Even the great American Constitution, the supreme law of the land, which justifies nothing but equal protection for all, can help us no more than treaty rights, because we are so-called ineligible aliens. We have been thrust into a deplorable crisis by being rendered homeless as well as being deprived of opportunity for earning our livelihood. But however bitter and severe our experience, we shall consider it as our noble trial to test and prove our strong faith in America. And we think this severe trial is an opportunity given us to better prove our reputation as a law-abiding people in this country.

With such interpretation of the present situation, a special convention of the Japanese Association of America presents the following resolutions to their fellow countrymen and American friends:

"Whereas, our faith in the principles of the American Government is unshaken; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the special convention of the Japanese Association of America, hereby authorize all executive committees and affiliated associations to advise Japanese people under their jurisdiction to respect the California Alien Land Law and always act in complete accordance with its spirit."

Notwithstanding real friendliness for America, editorial and private comment in Japan evinces indignation. The "Chugai Shogyo" declares that the decisions of the Supreme Court give "evidence of racial discrimination which is inconsistent with the humanity, justice and benevolence to which the American Government and people are traditionally pledged". The "Hochi" states that, "if the agitators' final object is not to drive out all Japanese from America, the anti-alien land laws should be modified". The "Kokumin" declares that "Japanese friendship never will be permanently cemented until the spirit of discrimination has been eliminated".

Were the consequences of the anti-Japanese legislation, now validated by the Supreme Court, limited to the Japanese aliens residing in the United States, we should have a situation serious enough. But when we consider the far-reaching effects of the movement of which this legislation is but one manifestation, when we note its effect on American-born children of these aliens, children who are citizens of the United States, and when we consider further that this legislation affects all who are neither "free whites" nor "Africans", placing all other races in the humiliating category of inferiority to "white" and "Africans", we begin to ask ourselves whether this is indeed the position which America intends and wishes to take in facing the other nations and races of the world. Is it a position that makes for the permanent peace of the Pacific and of the world?

The situation in which we now find ourselves is fraught with grave danger, not indeed in the immediate present, but surely in the long future. It is not in harmony with the fundamental ideals of our country or of the religion we all profess.

The time has come for a reconsideration of the whole question, thorough-going and fundamental. A solution must be found, granting full protection to every legitimate interest and desire of the Pacific Coast States, and at the same time giving Asiatics and all other aliens in America honorable, fair and friendly treatment.

But before this constructive proposal is presented, certain facts and considerations should be recognized and appreciated by both sides to this discussion. For there are factors involved which Japanese need to understand, as

well as facts which Americans need to recognize, before much headway can be made in finding a mutually satisfactory solution.

The Common Goal

In seeking a solution to our problem both Americans and Japanese need to bear in mind certain commanding considerations. Whatever the details of the solution may be, the goal of our efforts is the establishment and maintenance of goodwill and mutual helpfulness between the Far East and the Far West.

Japan and the United States constitute the latest developments of two great streams of culture, the product of millenniums of divergent development while the races were largely isolated. Each is deeply conscious of its own achievements and values, but does not readily appreciate those of the other.

But the world has suddenly become very small. Space has wondrously shrunk, and we are face to face in a closely intertwined and increasingly interdependent life. Isolation is no longer possible. A new era is upon us. The question for us all is whether this is to be a glorious era of brotherhood and goodwill, an era of interchange of our best spiritual treasures and material achievements, or an era of enmity, aggression and strife. Shall selfish race ambition and pride, with mutual suspicion, hatred and conflict, be the supreme characteristic of coming decades? Shall struggle for world domination be the ruling motive of the two great races of the world, the Occidental and the Oriental? Or shall they, together, seek the best for the whole human race, conscious that they are one family of one Heavenly Father?

As a Christian, my own attitude and purpose are clear and definite. I do not believe that the true welfare or the highest achievement of either is possible apart from that of the other. In a large sense our two civilizations are complementary. Each needs the other for its largest and richest life. The time has come for generous interchange of our choicest treasures. But this can go forward only on a basis of mutual goodwill, appreciation and helpfulness. If this is to take place, the people and Government of the United States should face the facts with utmost seriousness,

and find a new policy and develop a new spirit in our public and official treatment of Asiatics in our midst. The spirit that has expressed itself in our yellow press and in discriminatory laws during the last decade is ominous of ultimate disaster. The situation is not yet acute. There is no danger of an immediate outbreak of war. But we should all see clearly the significance and the ultimate outcome of the present spirit. The international relations of nations as of individuals must be just and righteous and friendly and honest and helpful, if there is to be world-peace and wholesome growth for all.

This is the goal toward which men of goodwill in every land and every race should be bending their energies with utmost zeal. And we all must face the hard facts of life which make this goal so difficult of achievement.

Facts for Japanese Consideration

The American attitude toward Asiatics may seem to Japanese to be determined by mere race prejudice, to depend on ignorance and to rely on falsehood. While this may no doubt be true of the attitude of some, it is not true of that of the great majority. Certain facts in American history have deeply influenced the thinking of thoughtful people, which facts should be recognized and appreciated by Asiatics if they wish to understand the present situation.

1. The people of the United States as a whole sympathize more or less with those of the Pacific Coast in their fear of Asiatic immigration. It is true that the enormous agricultural and mineral resources of those States could be quickly developed and large populations be supported there were immigration freely allowed to Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. Under free immigration Asiatics would doubtless come in by the million. Within a score of years they could easily capture the labor of this entire continent. Just this is what Americans fear.

2. The inevitable consequences of such an invasion would be violent conflicts between white and Asiatic labor groups, each fighting for a place and for a living. The turmoil and disorder, the strife and bloodshed, would be disastrous to both sides and create long-lasting hatreds and bitterness between the races. This evil spirit would extend beyond the seas.

3. Under such conditions our democracy could not long succeed. We regard our form of Government as still an experiment. We see clearly that it can succeed only if the people are fairly

homogeneous in mind and spirit and possess the same general ideals of life, of right and law, of religion and morality and government. Through large immigration from various European countries we already have many problems: our people are far from homogeneous; we are deeply deficient in national unity. The presence of additional millions of laboring Asiatics among us would result in still further confusion and strife. They might even cause the overthrow of our democracy and render inevitable the establishment of some kind of autocracy. This danger we are not willing to face.

4. Our people as a whole do not believe in the assimilability of masses of Asiatics to American ways of life, ideals and practices. While there are a few of us who believe that Asiatics can be assimilated, and would make good citizens, even we insist that the conditions must be favorable. The numbers must be few and the treatment friendly. Whether the number of Japanese already here is too large for successful assimilation remains to be seen. Not for a generation shall we really know whether or not the process is going forward wholesomely. In the mean time those who argue for or against assimilability are asserting their opinions rather than their knowledge.

5. In the background of the thought of all intelligent Americans as they think of the Asiatic question, is the dreadful experience of the white and Negro sections of our people in their mutual relations of a century. Because of it we have had one terrible civil war. And this race problem is not yet solved. To the average American the immediately convincing argument against free Asiatic immigration is—"we have one unsolved race problem; let us stop another before it begins."

In a word, the conviction of the sane and sober-minded people on the Pacific Coast, including the members of our churches, is that Asiatic labor immigration must stop. It is this practically universal conviction that makes possible the continued anti-Asiatic agitation of the extremists.

6. Finally, to the statement that the Gentlemen's Agreement has stopped it, the reply is that the Agreement has stopped only a portion of it. The statistics of the Bureau of Immigration show, as already noted, that although 22,737 more males have left the United States than have entered, 38,833 more females have entered than have left.

The coming to Continental America of 33,628 wives and 13,977 children between the summers of 1908 and 1923 (see Table B) constitutes a permanent and a permanently growing Asiatic population in our country. This is the foundation fact that explains the continued agitation on the Pacific Coast. It has been exaggerated and many falsehoods have been indulged in about Japanese in California, but the basal fact is incontestable. Contrary to the expectations

of America when the Gentlemen's Agreement was entered upon, the Japanese alien population has increased. This increase by immigration is numerically slight, it is true, but the population has changed from one predominantly of males, who would in time completely disappear, to a population largely of families, which will be permanent and increasing. Already American-born children of Japanese race in California alone number approximately 5,000 annually.

Japanese who wish to understand the basal causes for the continued anti-Japanese agitation should keep these facts well in mind.

Facts for American Consideration

In looking for the solution of the American-Japanese question, Americans also need to bear in mind certain facts and considerations.

1. Japanese in America are here lawfully. They came at first by urgent invitation. They came under treaties. The Orient has not forced its way into our lands by the mailed fist as, it must be admitted, the Occidental peoples have forced our way into theirs. Those, moreover, who have come to us under the Gentlemen's Agreement are here lawfully. Whatever changes may be desirable in the treaties or the Agreement, those who are here should receive the same courtesy and equality of treatment that is given to aliens of every other country.

2. Japanese population in the United States is not large. According to the United States Census of 1920 it numbered all told 111,010. In California the total was 71,952, being slightly under two per cent of the population of the State.

3. The stories of Japanese plans of domination and ultimate annexation of the Pacific Coast to the Japanese Empire may be set down as dreams and bogies popularized by unscrupulous agitators and yellow journals. I have not seen a particle of credible evidence that the Japanese Government, or any of its agents, has ever sought to establish a naval base on this continent or had any grandiose plans for extending the Japanese Empire to these shores. However plausible such stories may have appeared to some a few years ago, Japan's loyal acceptance of the results of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, her new policies in China, Siberia and Korea, and many other evidences make allegations of Japanese plans for the invasion of the United States absolutely inane. Those who continue to propagate such tales must be regarded as lacking either in mind or in character.

4. Declarations that Japanese could never be true and loyal American citizens, as loyal as those from other races and nations,

are baseless. The evidence is abundant that Japanese would be excellent citizens and loyal Americans were they permitted to become citizens at all. It is illogical to deny them the opportunity of naturalization and then attack them for not having the interest of America in their hearts.

5. In comparison with immigrants from other races and nations, the Japanese stand high in every respect. The facts are truly remarkable. Indeed the chief objections raised against them in California are based on their diligence, industry, faithfulness, initiative and capacities for cooperation—on their virtues, rather than on their vices. From the standpoint of their crime record, of their need of institutional care, of their general intelligence and of the "Intelligence Quotient" of their children, they stand high.

6. Policies and programs which pick out a single race for hampering, discriminatory legislation, denying to that race the advantages derived from its special good qualities, are not in harmony with American ideals of democracy, fair treatment and the square deal. The very kernel and essence of democracy is that it gives to each person the privilege and opportunity to make the most of himself, regardless of the accident of his birth. Be he the son of a president, a millionaire, a farmer or a pauper, his is the privilege in a democracy of "pushing to the front", of going just as far and as high as his native capacities and moral character can carry him. The discriminatory legislation which merely on account of race and color denies this opportunity to any individual lawfully in this country is unfair, un-American and undemocratic. It violates the "Golden Rule".

7. Discriminatory race legislation is bad policy. It is bad for America herself. It injures our ideals; it lowers our culture and our moral character as a nation. It deprives us moreover of the material advantages to be secured by the full utilization of the native capacities of all our people. It is bad international policy. It creates ill-will toward us on the part of the race or people discriminated against. It interferes with international goodwill—so vital in the maintenance of world-peace and the promotion of world-commerce.

8. Americans need also to know that the point of Japanese appeal is not for opportunity for immigration of their laborers to America. The Japanese Government has recognized the economic and racial difficulties that would develop on a large scale were any considerable immigration of Asiatics to America allowed. The significance of the Gentlemen's Agreement lies right here. In making it, Japan abandoned her natural desire for economic opportunity for her laborers in this country, but with the definite hope that in return, and in consideration of her dignity and honor, the United States would refrain from all discriminatory legislation involving Japanese. For such legislation would inevitably imply in some sense the inferiority of Japanese to other peoples who are freely allowed entrance and opportunity here.

9. Japan has faithfully carried out the Agreement, and our Federal Government has done the same. Many an effort has been

made in Congress to exclude Japanese by name or by implication. These efforts have all been turned down. So far as our treaties and our laws are concerned, Japanese have the same right of immigration to America that any European people has. Japanese sense of honor and race pride are to be respected and commended.

10. Japan has been quite willing to impose on herself limitations which she is not willing to have imposed upon her by a law of a foreign power. Friends are always ready to render services to each other out of friendship which they would resent if compelled. Japan still wishes to settle the present problem on a basis of friendship and mutual consideration rather than of technical legality or of mere force.

11. Japanese leaders have frequently stated that, if the terms of the present Gentlemen's Agreement are not satisfactory, Japan is willing to reconsider them. What she asks, and asks earnestly, is that the relations of our two peoples shall be conducted on a basis of friendship and mutual consideration, and that no legislation shall be enacted derogatory to her people in comparison with those of other lands; for discriminatory legislation is inevitably humiliating and irritating. Those leaders have repeatedly declared that Japan will make any fair and honorable concessions needed to meet America's desires. Such a position is surely reasonable and honorable. America has everything to gain by respecting this position, and nothing to lose.

From recent personal experiences in Japan I can confirm the judgments of Mr. E. Alexander Powell in a recent article ("Atlantic Monthly", Nov., 1921): "Japan is genuinely, almost pathetically, anxious for American confidence and goodwill, and, in order to obtain them, she is prepared to make almost every concession that her self-respect will permit and that a fair-minded American can demand."

12. Americans should seriously ask what we would like to have Japan do toward us were our places exchanged. Considered in this light, that which Japan is asking of us is a very slight thing. Not opportunity for immigration does she ask, but only that those of her people who have already come and are lawfully here shall be given the same treatment and opportunity that are given to immigrants from other lands.

13. Finally, Congress should refrain from enacting legislation in contravention of the purpose and spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement, for such legislation would be a violation on our part of the moral obligation incurred when the Agreement was made, and a repudiation of its spirit of mutual friendship, confidence and consideration. If the Agreement is not working satisfactorily, the right and gentlemanly thing to do is to propose a conference for the reconsideration of the entire question.

Constructive Proposals

In the light of the various considerations presented above there are, I think, two possible procedures for solving

the present difficulty and getting rid of the one remaining cloud on our common international horizon on the Pacific:

I. A New Gentlemen's Agreement

The features of the new Agreement should be:—

1. Japan to cease giving passports to the United States (including Hawaii) to Japanese newcomers of the labor classes, both skilled and unskilled, who intend to remain permanently in this land. It would of course permit students, officials, merchants and professional men, with their families, to enter and reside, but it would absolutely exclude all laborers and their families, of all classes, whether skilled or unskilled. This would meet the desires of the Pacific Coast, which demands complete cessation of all new immigration. Those already here should have the privilege of traveling back and forth freely, but not of bringing in with them newcomers for permanent residence. Japanese who have not during the fifteen years since the Gentlemen's Agreement went into effect made use of their liberty to bring over their wives, parents or children, should no longer have this privilege.

2. America to abrogate all legislation discriminating against Japanese. The simplest and surest way of securing this result would be for Congress to amend the law of naturalization, raising the standards and granting the privilege of citizenship to all who qualify, regardless of race or nationality. This act would set America right in relation to all races and all peoples throughout the world, and is in harmony with the fundamental ideals and principles of our Constitution and our democracy.

3. This new Agreement should be made public in every detail.

Various objections to a new Gentlemen's Agreement can easily be raised. One is that it is only an agreement and has no legal or binding force. Its observance on one side or the other is a matter of honor. The writer has no sympathy with this objection. A new Agreement would be faithfully carried out by both Governments. It would not, however, be open to the criticism that it leaves to a foreign government the right to decide who should come to our shores, for according to this proposal none are to come for permanent residence. The Agreement might provide that each Japanese on entering America should be given a United States certificate of admission specifying the period of residence. It might also be agreed that every Japanese already in America should be given by the United States a certificate of permanent residence.

4. The making and administering of such an Agreement by Japan would be quite simple. On the part of the United States, however, the execution of such an Agreement would be difficult, for the Federal Government cannot easily or automatically control the acts of sovereign states; it could not in advance guarantee to Japan the repeal of existing anti-Japanese legislation nor assure her that no such legislation would take place in the future. The

Administration could not even promise Congressional action giving the privileges of citizenship to all who qualify, regardless of race or nationality.

Because of these difficulties in the way of a really effective Agreement, the second method seems preferable.

II. A New Treaty

The terms of the proposed treaty should cover such points as these:

Nationals of either country to be permitted in principle to visit and reside in the territory of the other on the same terms as peoples from the most favored nations, but, in consideration of special conditions and circumstances, the United States and Japan mutually to agree that during the period of the treaty,

1. Both countries will grant passports to their nationals only for purposes of trade, study, teaching or travel in the country of the other, and for specified periods of residence. Passports shall not be given to manual, agricultural or skilled laborers for the conduct of their occupations in the country of the other, except by special arrangements between the two Governments in regard to individual cases.

2. Each Government will secure to the citizens of the other while residing under its jurisdiction most favored nation treatment in respect of liberty of travel, residence, study, trade and commerce.

3. In respect to those nationals of each Government now residing permanently under the jurisdiction of the other, whether laborers or not, the privileges of naturalization and citizenship will be and hereby are extended to those individuals who will duly qualify under the law.

4. Japanese born in the United States and permanently living here should be released, by suitable Japanese legislation, from Japanese allegiance, thus doing away with the evils of dual citizenship.

A treaty of this general nature carefully worded would secure the complete cessation of all Japanese labor immigration and at the same time annul all the local discriminatory laws to which objection is taken. Should such a treaty be passed by the Senate it would without further delay become the law of the land.

The objection that the Senate is not constitutionally competent to ratify such a treaty does not hold, for there are several instances of treaties granting citizenship, not

only with Indian tribes, but with foreign countries. United States citizenship was conferred on the inhabitants of the Louisiana Territory by the treaty of 1803 and on the citizens of Hawaii (including Chinese and other races) by the treaty of annexation in 1898. The proposal here made is not to confer citizenship but only to open the door to citizenship to those who will personally qualify.

Concluding Observations

Either one of the constructive proposals here suggested would solve fundamentally the American-Japanese problem. It would stop completely all new immigration of labor classes from Japan, which is the principal objective of anti-Japanese agitators. It would abolish race discrimination and humiliation so far as our laws are concerned, and establish a correct attitude in America's relations to all nations and races.

This would undoubtedly satisfy Japan. It would do away with the phrase "aliens ineligible for citizenship", and constitute a real step toward the guarantee of equal laws for all, in harmony with our national and religious ideals. It would do away with a class of people who though permanently and lawfully residing among us can never become fully incorporated into our national life. It would put an end to the tension between America and Japan, harmful to both peoples, and to agitation in both countries belittling and misrepresenting the other and holding up the conflict of interests as a certain cause of war, sooner or later.

From the practical standpoint also the gains would be important. Legislation could promptly be enacted providing that only United States citizens might purchase or lease agricultural land or make crop-contracts. All aliens permanently residing in America and making their living by means of personally owned agricultural enterprises would be required to qualify for citizenship, an advantage for the individual as well as for the State. The alleged danger to a State of control by aliens, whether ineligible for citizenship or not, would be removed. Nor could aliens secure monopolistic control of farm products.

The number of alien Japanese who could qualify for citizenship would in fact not exceed a few thousand. In

any case, the supposed advantage of the present laws against aliens ineligible for citizenship cannot long continue, for there are tens of thousands of American-born children who are citizens by birthright, many thousands of whom in the course of a dozen years will come of age and will be entitled to buy land in their own right. The utter futility of the present anti-Japanese legislative program will become increasingly apparent as time goes on. Its supposed advantages are temporary, and in the meantime it does much harm, locally and internationally.

The measure here urged throws upon each individual from abroad the responsibility of making good as a citizen or of remaining a day laborer. It does not brand a race or a people on mere *a priori* or dogmatic grounds as inferior or necessarily unfit to become citizens, but gives opportunity to each individual to show that he is fit.

Not one shred of evidence has been produced to prove that Chinese or Japanese are intrinsically, merely because of race, unfit to become citizens. On the contrary, their now well-known diligence, thrift, studiousness, law-abiding character, loyalty and other virtues show that they are intrinsically fitted to make excellent citizens if they will personally qualify.

If such is indeed the case, then the fair name of our Republic should no longer be tarnished by a law restricting naturalization to whites and "Africans", passed in the days of our ignorance, a law that, as we now find, inevitably and necessarily brands and humiliates one half of the human race.

Out of respect to ourselves, to our own ideals, to our true welfare and to the maintenance of goodwill and permanent peace between the Far East and Far West, the time has surely come for the United States to adopt a broad, comprehensive and universal policy in the matter of naturalization and citizenship.

In the opinion of the writer the Japanese Government would do well, without waiting for a new Agreement or treaty, to proceed at once to the complete cessation of Japanese immigration to the United States and to such a modification of her laws on expatriation as shall effectually

do away with the evils of dual citizenship. Such action would help much in securing the equal treatment desired for her people in America.

It is also the opinion of the writer that America would do well, without waiting for any bargains or treaty with Japan, to raise the standards for naturalization and grant citizenship to every one who qualifies personally, regardless of the question of his race. Having done this we could with good grace ask Japan for the complete cessation of all permanent immigration to this land. I am confident we would at once thus secure this from her without resorting to the unfriendly and humiliating expedient of exclusion legislation.

Inasmuch as the foregoing suggestions are the ideal things to do, they are not, sad to say, likely to occur at once. One further suggestion is accordingly made: namely, the appointment of a Commission by the United States Government to confer fully with a corresponding Commission to be appointed by the Japanese Government. These two Commissions could together examine the facts, develop the procedures, promote the education of public opinion in both countries, make suggestions to the respective Governments and thus prepare the way for the solution of the most important question in the mutual relations of the United States and the Far East.

TABLE A

Alien Japanese Admitted to and Departed from the United States
(Including Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands and Porto Rico)

	Admitted						Departed						Net		
	Immigrant			Non-Immigrant			Emigrant			Non-Emigrant					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Admitted	Departed	Total
1909	1,462	1,813	3,275	1,067	101	1,168	3,196	698	3,894	2,993	597	3,590	4,443	7,484	−3,041
1910	915	1,883	2,798	1,196	152	1,348	3,476	901	4,377	2,654	479	3,133	4,146	7,510	−3,364
1911	1,409	3,166	4,575	1,691	224	1,915	2,721	630	3,351	4,177	805	4,982	6,490	8,333	−1,843
1912	1,930	4,242	6,172	2,301	273	2,574	1,167	334	1,501	5,591	938	6,529	8,746	8,030	716
1913	3,157	5,145	8,302	3,031	339	3,370	561	172	733	6,495	1,212	7,707	11,672	8,440	3,232
1914	3,292	5,649	8,941	3,707	368	4,075	615	179	794	6,730	1,379	8,109	13,016	8,903	4,113
1915	3,762	4,847	8,609	3,154	474	3,628	676	149	825	6,188	1,474	7,662	12,237	8,487	3,750
1916	4,033	4,678	8,711	3,538	458	3,996	635	145	780	6,911	1,727	8,638	12,707	9,418	3,289
1917	4,162	4,763	8,925	3,676	687	4,363	581	141	722	6,546	1,894	8,440	13,288	9,162	4,126
1918	4,821	5,347	10,168	4,117	794	4,911	1,215	343	1,558	6,930	2,352	9,282	15,079	10,840	4,239
1919	4,567	5,489	10,056	4,056	792	4,848	1,715	412	2,127	6,841	2,265	9,106	14,904	11,233	3,671
1920	3,414	5,865	9,279	5,779	1,116	6,895	3,181	1,057	4,238	8,515	2,900	11,415	16,174	15,653	521
1921	3,147	4,384	7,531	5,448	1,295	6,743	3,249	1,103	4,352	8,125	3,068	11,193	14,274	15,545	−1,271
1922	2,683	3,678	6,361	5,279	1,197	6,476	3,086	1,267	4,353	7,859	3,066	10,925	12,837	15,278	−2,441
1923	2,489	3,163	5,652	4,594	1,325	5,919	2,043	801	2,844	5,942	2,386	8,328	11,571	11,172	399
	45,243	64,112	109,355	52,634	9,595	62,229	28,117	8,332	36,449	92,497	26,542	119,039	171,584	155,488	16,096

TABLE B

Alien Japanese Admitted to and Departed from Continental United States
(Excluding Hawaii, etc.)
Showing Various Details Bearing on the Gentlemen's Agreement

	Admitted	Departed	Net	Former Residents Returning	Parents	Wives	Children	Non-Laborers		Laborers		Total
								Male	Female	Male	Female	
1909	2,432	5,004	−2,572	754	14	665	273	1,085	672	692	195	2,644
1910	2,598	5,024	−2,426	714	11	880	268	1,150	759	498	280	2,687
1911	4,282	5,869	−1,587	1,114	9	1,669	513	1,807	1,743	570	162	4,282
1912	5,358	5,437	−79	1,702	36	2,108	538	2,198	2,247	732	181	5,358
1913	6,771	5,647	1,124	2,834	44	2,398	642	2,745	2,619	1,267	140	6,771
1914	8,462	6,300	2,162	3,764	25	3,015	786	3,332	3,362	1,702	66	8,462
1915	9,029	5,967	3,062	3,971	62	2,672	1,269	3,806	3,009	1,736	478	9,029
1916	9,100	6,922	2,178	4,061	88	2,478	1,326	3,751	2,336	2,118	895	9,100
1917	9,159	6,581	2,578	4,064	73	2,397	1,432	3,795	2,479	2,038	847	9,159
1918	11,143	7,691	3,452	4,895	70	2,824	1,685	4,821	3,718	2,279	325	11,143
1919	11,404	8,328	3,076	4,064	128	3,192	1,685	5,360	4,068	1,674	302	11,404
1920	12,868	11,662	1,206	5,151	75	3,817	1,488	4,694	4,492	2,936	746	12,868
1921	10,675	11,638	−963	5,151	164	2,392	880	3,945	3,774	2,831	125	10,675
1922	8,981	11,173	−2,192	4,213	53	1,726	671	3,995	2,933	2,022	31	8,981
1923	8,055	8,393	−338	4,059	33	1,395	521	3,058	2,676	2,275	46	8,055
	120,317	111,636	8,681	50,511	885	33,628	13,977	49,542	40,887	25,370	4,819	120,618*

*Total Debarred 301.

TABLE C

Alien Japanese Admitted to and Departed from Hawaii,
Showing Various Details Bearing on the Gentlemen's Agreement

	Admitted	Departed	Net	Former Residents Returning	Parents	Wives	Children	Non-Laborers		Laborers		Total
								Male	Female	Male	Female	
1909	1,493	2,378	–885	266	46	700	306	139	152	426	822	1,539
1910	1,527	2,355	–828	257	30	910	257	139	99	357	966	1,561
1911	2,159	2,464	–305	411	59	1,177	421	238	181	501	1,239	2,159
1912	3,231	2,593	638	809	128	1,525	690	356	273	975	1,627	3,231
1913	4,901	2,793	2,108	1,275	308	2,198	1,115	518	355	1,658	2,370	4,901
1914	4,554	2,603	1,951	1,198	179	2,059	1,010	543	457	1,422	2,132	4,554
1915	3,208	2,520	688	956	62	2,672	1,269	580	498	790	1,340	3,208
1916	3,607	2,496	1,111	1,298	73	1,310	763	730	490	972	1,415	3,607
1917	4,129	2,581	1,548	1,580	116	1,372	1,008	752	561	1,253	1,563	4,129
1918	3,936	3,149	787	1,527	89	1,290	978	719	510	1,119	1,588	3,936
1919	3,500	2,905	595	1,504	60	1,222	689	619	562	970	1,349	3,500
1920	3,306	3,991	–685	1,706	54	957	589	620	607	943	1,136	3,306
1921	3,599	3,907	–308	2,123	164	2,392	880	904	930	915	850	3,599
1922	3,856	4,105	–249	2,414	24	827	458	1,001	1,032	944	879	3,856
1923	3,516	2,779	737	2,501	21	639	294	909	1,292	841	474	3,516
	50,522	43,619	6,903	19,825	1,413	21,250	10,727	8,767	7,999	14,086	19,750	50,602*

*Total Debarred 80.

TABLE D

Alien Japanese Admitted to and Departed from the United States by Status and Sex, 1909-1923

Admitted	Male	Female	Departed	Male	Female
Immigrant	45,243	64,112	Emigrant	28,117	8,332
Non-Immigrant	52,634	9,595	Non-Emigrant	92,497	26,542
	97,877	73,707		120,614	34,874

	Male		Female		Net
Departed	120,614	Admitted	73,707	Female Net Admitted	38,833
Admitted	97,877	Departed	34,874	Male Net Departed	22,737
Net Departed	22,737	Net Admitted	38,833	Total Net Admitted	16,096

	Admitted	Departed		Net		Summary
Male	97,877	120,614	Total Admitted	171,584	Net Admitted to Continental U.S.	8,681
Female	73,707	34,874	Total Departed	155,488	Net Admitted to Hawaii, etc.	7,415
	171,584	155,488	Net Admitted	16,096	Total Net Admitted to U. S.	16,096